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177 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

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614 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie
culturelle /Handbook of
Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

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554 In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

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421 However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the
 614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
 [554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"^o the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
 614 Taitoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole⁷ (figs. 25, 26, b and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
 [643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
 622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by a clan council made up of the male heads of
 562 households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an *amenokal* rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an *amenokal* is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,⁸ but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old-days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of cousinship and outside the camp community or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits rank and privileges through the mother, regardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (see the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Batruta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, a).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.¹³ The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are disappearing fast.

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173 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[114] ¹³ Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908,
 173 pp. 90, 102 and 222-23), Lhote (1955, pp.
 614 234-36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52-55)
 all agree in lumping most of them together
 in a special almost tribelike class known as the
 Issaquamaren, but they do not agree entirely
 on just which clans should be included in this
 group. According to Benhazera the Issaquam-
 aren once claimed descent from a woman pur-
 chased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by
 Arab invaders who came there straight from
 Mecca about the middle of the 7th century
 A.D., and he adds that they are thought to
 have moved northward to the Touat early
 in the 12th century. The first part of this
 tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab
 schools of historical fiction, or fictional his-
 tory if you prefer, which are often no more
 reliable than is the modern school of lecturers
 who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are
 descendants of veteran crusaders who came
 to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel
 that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure,
 but there is much more in it than just an
 amusing coincidence. It is a striking illustration
 of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and
 Christian alike, are always deeply moved by
 thoughts of the past glories of their race and
 of "that old time religion." We must never
 forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpreta-
 tion that result from the action of this power-
 ful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan
 peoples who have been converted to Islam
 stubbornly insist against all sense and reason
 that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Is-
 soquamaren are believed to be the descendants
 of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the
 Tademaït region, whence they were recruited
 as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar,
 but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they
 are descended from a group of Arab tribes
 of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were de-
 feated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar
 Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before.
 The Issaquamaren have been thought by some
 to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself
 to filling in small but important gaps in relatively
 complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of
 getting bogged down for months or doing only a
 superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures
 whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
173 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
614 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vas-
sal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although
the Issouamaren clans and fractions have
been parceled out among various tribes of the
Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to re-
tain some remnants of the social structure of
a single and united tribe. Since the Issouama-
ren have become rich in camels, they have
regained in practical power and influence
most of what they once lost in hierarchical
prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna
region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize
from there northwestward across the Adrar
n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg
Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are be-
lieved to have sprung from a series of mar-
riages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab
men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten
clan. The descendants of these unions became
so numerous and so very rich, in camels and
in slaves, that they were finally able to estab-
lish a separate clan of their own. Although
they are included in the vassal category, they
enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position
of precedence in relation to most of the other
Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan
subdivided into two patri-clans, the Hag-
garenin and the Settafinin, which are based on
supposed descent from two ancestral Arab
groups, one of them thought to have been of
Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as
an example of a matrilineal clan structure that
has been effectively split into two patrilineal
clans while still remaining basically a unit in
the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and
politico-economic organization and, to a great
extent, in terms of its own internal economic
organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for
101 the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
131 and are distributed in an arc that curves
around its southwestern, western and north-
western borders. The northwestern extremity
of this arc continues curving eastward, then
southeastward and finally on southward
around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg con-
federation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
 614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
 101 Air. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
 131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so
 to speak, whose broad beaches are continually
 swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea
 and, along the southern and southeastern
 shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the
 Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
 174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
 563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them
 [797] have lived there for a long time now. Arab
 Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first ar-
 rived probably in the 7th or early 8th cen-
 tury. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty,
 the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the
 Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until
 about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan
 "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of
 the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There
 followed a long period of anarchy and civil
 wars out of which finally arose, about the
 middle of the 18th century, the main frame-
 work of the Tuareg political structure which
 we now know. Descendants of immigrant
 Arab holy men are very few and scattered in
 the Ahaggar today, and their power has been
 reduced to no more than a faint shadow of
 what it used to be. People of this kind are
 much more numerous, united and powerful
 in the northeastern and southwestern corners
 of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the
 Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the
 region with which we are directly concerned
 at the moment. It is significant, however, that
 as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted
 decisive influence in the electoral council of
 the Ahaggar confederation when that body
 found itself seriously divided over the choice
 of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping
 very gradually into the topmost level of the
 Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
 [59] through the occasional marriages of noble
 Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such
 cases residence is strictly matrilineal. Since
 [61] rank is inherited through the mother, a son
 of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble
 and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp.
 22-23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg
 governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

Tuareg Invasions into Air.

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. - Gsell 1920-28, I-VIII - Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138-1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan [114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936. - Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. - Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. - Palmer 1936. - Urvoy 1936. - Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zazaoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zazaoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdaalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result [1614] that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamaḡou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

Ibraouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen¹⁷⁴ clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Arombolou*¹⁶⁴ was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emekki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the *maasif* where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damerrou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damerrou, partly in Air.

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aouidjila (Aouidjila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aouidjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aouidjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Orafen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Ifrouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Ifrouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania¹⁷⁴ (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the Orafen clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinmen to the dominating Kel Bela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Bela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas.

Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. - 162
The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group). 614 ●
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Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Kel Ferouan (Iraouanian)	350 58	There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few.	Teloua (western part)
Kel Azel	180 47		Aniegn
Ijakarkaren Igendanien	203 41 247 55	Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command.	Tafadek Borhal
Ikhabban?			
Iberdanien (a clans)	621 97	Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants,	Goufat Teouendegit Eknauuen
Irobouren		Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants.	
Imezouren	169 31	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tivaren
Ikaoukan	150	Attached to the Kel Azel.	
Ifogas (a clans)	396 95	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tedrin
Ikochechlien		A section of the Immez- zilalen. Attached to the Kel Azel.	Afarak
Imezoureg	106 20		Tevareit
Idaleyen	218 67		Telhechams
Alt Oren	180		Maramaro
Immezailalen			Teloua (eastern part) Aaa
Kel Tamsi	237		Teloua (eastern part) Aaa
Ikkhar	42 12		

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Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Ifadeyen (a clans)			Kourouboho Imchamehouan Torouf Beimabo Tin-Darimine Anialen Abelenna Ekaouel
Igetofen			
Iraouelen			Tombolaga Akadane Meigaouet
Elbaraten			Oumachor
Itagan			Edeleg
Isakaranen	653 107		Tin-Tebzgin
Kel Tedale (3 clans)	1300	They may be noble by origin.	Falak Ouraren Zourika
Kel Akarra	164 39	Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibarouchiten clan as their particular vassals.	Tin-Teborah
Ibarouchiten		Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan.	Emulegra

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. - Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 48 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 950.

A clan is generally termed *tasuit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g.,

- 1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
- 2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
- 3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
- 4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season (*akasa*) and in the beginning of the following dry season (*jarat*) several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occurred also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin - ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:-

Mother's brother's daughter.....	7
Father's sister's daughter.....	4
Classificatory cross-cousins.....	6
Other kinswomen.....	13
No blood-relationship between husband and wife....	8

Marriages total... 38

582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
 [773] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also
 legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types
 of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
 [581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
 [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional
 joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will
 stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband
 and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
 606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
 221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these
 two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which
 they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Rad-
 cliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory
 (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement
 that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown,
 the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two out-
 wardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried
 on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two
 male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they
 are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into
 avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional
 joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of
 preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case
 he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
 [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a
 hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance
 is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)
 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and
 for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
 614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan
 chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims
 the line of succession to be as follows:— 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his
 mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession
 also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.).
 614 Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
 613 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f.,
 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

1 [p. 102, category 11b.—Analyst]

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadde (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 445). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Iouillemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1930a, p. 213; 1930c, p. 492f. - Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhasera (Benhasera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhasera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubief has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1936, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

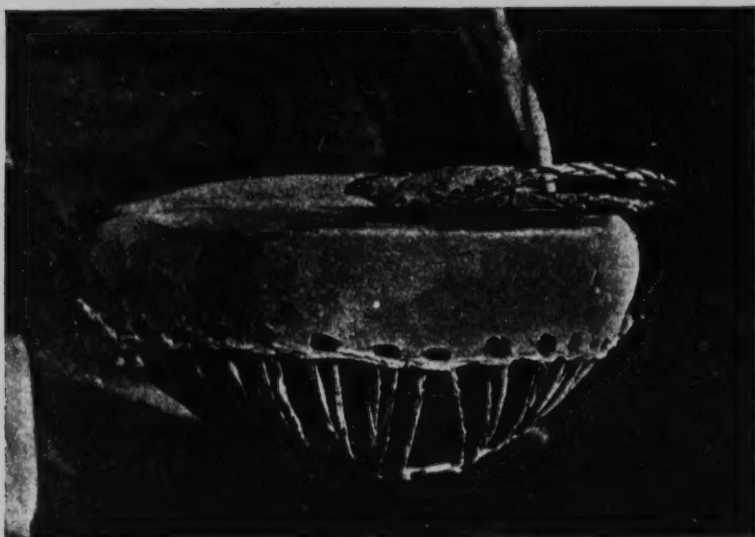
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Fig. 6.-The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there [202] were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 778 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic 534 power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

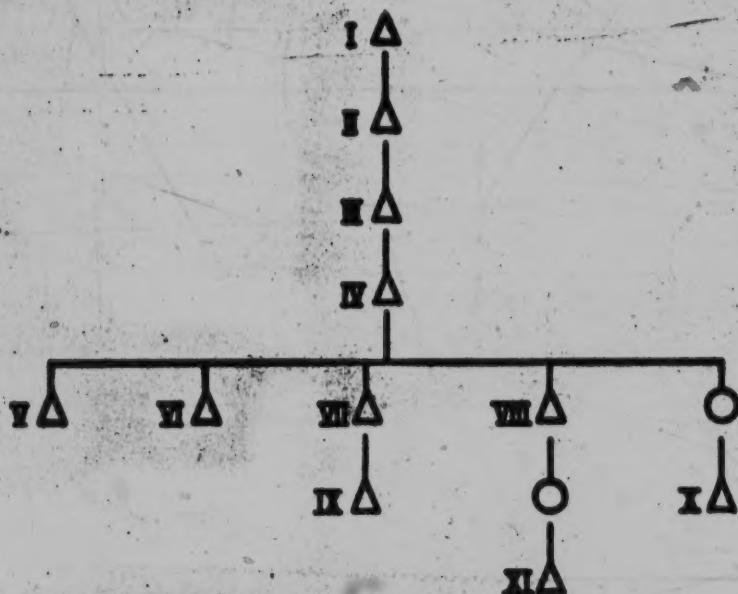


Fig. 7.—Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamodan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen — clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group — they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [75] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new vell or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the installment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. [614] 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth (*taggalt*), or one camel from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 583

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

a) *Touit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

Air

Nicolaisen

Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

97

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law (*alegges*, pl. *ilousan*), or sisters-in-law (*taleggest*, pl. *tilousin*), while the spouses of descendants of all [601] brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law (*adeggat*, pl. *idoulan*), or [606] daughters-in-law (*adeggalt*, pl. *tedoulin*). These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized 634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the 614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble 565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is [687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the 634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the 614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other 565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel 114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. - Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

634 The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from 614 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power 565 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibarochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by [558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

[669] A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:-

Kel Ooul	50 Tuareg vells
Kel Fadei	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two groups each giving 3 oryx hides
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Ioullemmeden	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergou	
Katsena	An amount of millet

The Tuareg name for these payments is *louss* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:- 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *louss* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 119).

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:- The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan.

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterized as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans.

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one

634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
 565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather
 very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal
 clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and
 Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say
 that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may
 also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
 [463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and
 Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
 [701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers
 and protectors.

114 Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals (Imghad)
 565 as camel-herdmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:—"One of the functions
 614 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as
 the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a
 whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on
 the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
 [422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals
 dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
 [672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p.
 141f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
 [567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own
 information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to
 by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been
 able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herds-
 men of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural
 distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much
 about this.

174 Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
 565 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
 614 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a,
 p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge
 about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the
 north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already
 before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the
 noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan
 Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the
 Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg
 have emigrated.

The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1933, p. 223 ff. from statistics of 1949)

	Noble Clans	Vassal Clans	Isekhemaren Clans
<i>The Kel Rela Drum-Group</i>	<i>Kel Rela</i> 275 To-day many of them live in Tameana. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifogas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Rela women, like noble women of the Orajen (Tasali-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Aïr), do not associate freely with people of other clans.	<i>Dag Rali</i> 386 <i>Ait Loaim</i> 400 <i>Agouh-en-Tahala</i> 385 <i>Relaidin</i> 40 <i>Ikhan-en-Taousit</i> 500 <i>Ibittenaten</i> 129 <i>Iregenaten</i> 435 These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibittenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibittenaten, patrilineally from Arabs.	<i>Ithiouan Hada</i> 233 <i>Kel Injer</i> 176 <i>Kel Tafdest</i> 61 <i>Kel Immidir</i> 179 <i>Kel Tazoullet</i> 138 The Isekhemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals.
<i>The Taitok Drum-Group</i>	<i>Taitok</i> 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitok stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tameana together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitok drum-group also now live in Tameana. The Taitok and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	<i>Kel Ahnet</i> 127 <i>Jouarouaren</i> 47 <i>Toghe-n-Efs</i> 127 <i>Ikoutian</i> 84 <i>Isekchemaden</i> (now mixed with the Dag Rali clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). <i>Isekchoumen</i> - a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitok, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	<i>Kel I-n-Tounin</i> (about 20 tents in 1938).

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	Noble Clans		Vassal Clans	Isekhemaren Clans	
62 565 614 631 The Teghe-Mellet Drum-Group	Teghe Mellet	33	Kel Terha (part of the Alt Louien clan of the Kel Rela drum-group).	Kel Torout Kel Ouhel	62 70
Noble Clans Without Vassals	Kel Ekan Mellet		The Isekhemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan.		
	Ikadim		Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Ti.		

The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imyad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Isekhemaren* (sing. *Asekhemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemmen* (sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

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[701] There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in other words three drum-groups (*effebel*, pl. *effebelen*), namely those of Kel Rela, Taitok, and Teghe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs (*Amrar*, pl. *Imyaren*) were elected by the vassals of their respective drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence, but - contrary to former opinions on the matter - they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekhemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (385) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar - like those of Air - have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for: 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that, any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence: - A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

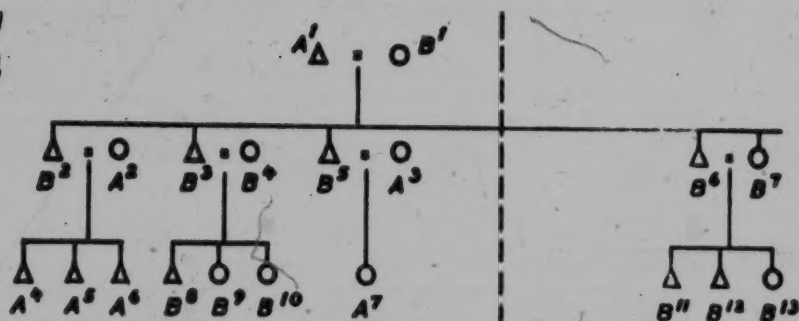
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Fig. 10.—Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan (A¹) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan (B¹).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A-persons belong.

At the death of A¹ of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of B¹, and they will remain there also after the death of B¹.

At the death of B¹ his wife A² and her children A³ A⁴ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with A⁵ and her child A⁷ at the death of B⁵. At the death of B⁶ his wife B⁷ and children B⁸-B¹⁰ will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B persons belong.

If B¹ dies while A¹ is still alive, B² and her children B³ B⁴ will go back to the camp of A¹ in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of A¹ they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of B⁵, B⁶, and B⁷.

[614] If for instance B⁶ kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the
[682] Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as A¹ is alive and B⁶ lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If A¹ has died and B⁶ consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

Mother's brother's daughter.....	3
Father's sister's daughter.....	7
Classificatory cross-cousins.....	6
Mother's sister's daughter.....	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter.....	9
Other kinswomen.....	8

Marriages total... 44

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10-20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2-7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50-100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinamen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief (*Amyar*). These *khalifas* are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs. 614 621 476 596 422 613 622 614

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8-9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans. 184 601 602

[Text continues on p. 108]

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehels Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafsa).

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehels, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tédés.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafsa sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Asrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanrauet. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey

KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaidin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehels clan.

Khoeni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaidin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Ball and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehels have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isékhemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehels and the Isékhemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehels people come to the Isékhemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isékhemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehels. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p. 110]

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[431]

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Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imzailien comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tinhart sections.)

Tenants	Name and Value of Sub-Area	Land-Rent to the Amenokal
64 427 651 224 613 DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief.	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. - (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant).	2 goats
JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.	TADJEMART No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section	ARECHCHOUM No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section.	IN DALADJ Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section.	AKALARAREN Hunting of barbary sheep.	Unknown
BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tinhart section.	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area.	Formerly three barbary sheep present rent unknown.
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet.	ABELESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements.	No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area.
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections.	TALESSA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. - Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this sub-area, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year.	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief).

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Killian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Killian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Bali. In the list (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent (*chara-g-amerdal*) paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. - Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Bali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

Aharagar

[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p. 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities (*ediet*) among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-scale raiding.

scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three *Khalifas* two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Bali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Bela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *chere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *chere oua n bouelma* ("the fortune of the public"). [429] [643] [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Bela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their *tiouse* separately as follows: [643] [614] [651]

1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafia sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Bali clan pays its *tiouse* as follows:— 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Alt Loaien, does not make its *tiouse* payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Bela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Bali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1935, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives *tiouse* payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay *tiouse* to a [565] [614] [643] [651]

565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of
 614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiousse to
 651 noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or
 lineages gave tiousse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela
 clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekke-
 maren class, who should pay tiousse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that
 three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel
 Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Du-
 veyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations be-
 tween noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiousse to
 the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble
 Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be
 several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiousse
 payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
 651 as tiousse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
 579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of
 such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign
 Tuareg paying tiousse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the
 Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about
 one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals.
 But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him
 half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided
 complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiousse for protection, he might
 return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1347f.).

565 The tiousse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
 614 But the relation (*temaɣlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
 651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently
 of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now
 briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
 511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
 [234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food.
 [262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels
 are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
 [574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
 as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
 [281] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
 [237] for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

Aggar

173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
565 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
492 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much importance
[234] to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:- 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25-30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post - that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[614] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble
[173] origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. - Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. - Lhote

Property Marks in Ahaggar

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Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ball* and *Aghu-en-teshl*.

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*233 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also
565 holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of
422 *Kel Terwit* and *Kel-I-n-tuin*.

*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
[413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a-b), but if this implement is not available another
piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are
known as *ahwalen* (sing. *ahwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular

422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote

*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally

● 614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same
tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes,

[52] though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[272] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some
who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought

bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a
tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*ahwel*) a supplementary

brand known as *arazeglu*.

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*333
614 brand known as *azexha*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101a-c).

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192 The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*tesebert*) plaited from *afexu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*dké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *sekkebbilt*, another is *ayref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *huma*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

614 It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Reia* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téghé-n-Efi*, that is "the man *Efi*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Rali*, that is "sons of the man *Rali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikaskyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kask*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Agut-en-tehlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tehlé*" - the word *tehlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Tazulet*, that is "people of the Tazulet region", etc.).

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565 Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Reia* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taynak*.

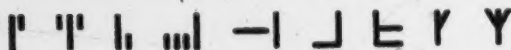
The very numerous vassal tribe the *Agut-en-tehlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téghé-n-Ellmen* for their tribe. Actually the *Agut-en-tehlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Taphaw-hawt*, *Isawden*, and *Kel Ayrefsa*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isawden* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Iberramen* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Rali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takawa* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Rali* tribe was founded by the man *Rali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Rali* proper and the *Imazilliten*. Some Tuareg of the

Tribal Structure in Ahaggar

141

==	foreleg	IV	upper part of right foreleg behind the right ear
	chuck	I	
—	neck	IV	upper part of right foreleg right hind thigh
==	chuck below the eye	I	
⌋	chuck	IVI	upper part of right foreleg
—	foreleg	IV	upper part of right foreleg behind the right ear
	foreleg	-IV	upper part of right foreleg
	hind thigh	VI	upper part of right foreleg
	chuck	⌋	right side of neck
	hind thigh	⌋	right side of neck

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233*
614

right side of neck

Fig. 101a-c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

- a. Brands of the *Kel Rali* tribe.
- b. Brands of the *Ajrab-en-zeht* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *amassart*. The brands ⌋ & ⌋ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikian-en-zeht* tribe where the principal brand is ⌋ called *amessag*.
- c. Brands of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Rali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Rali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Rali* brands have individual names. (632)
The last one is known as *akkilil n ayaleg*, that is "the raven's foot".

Dag Rali tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Rali* proper speak of the *Imessiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves. 614
611
565
613
602
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I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Rali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back. [114]

614
582 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Rali* of which the half known as the *Dag Rali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaden* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—
(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.



Fig. 102a-b. Hafted irons (*sadel*, pl. *sadelen*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b. Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

Rules of Residence in Ahaggar

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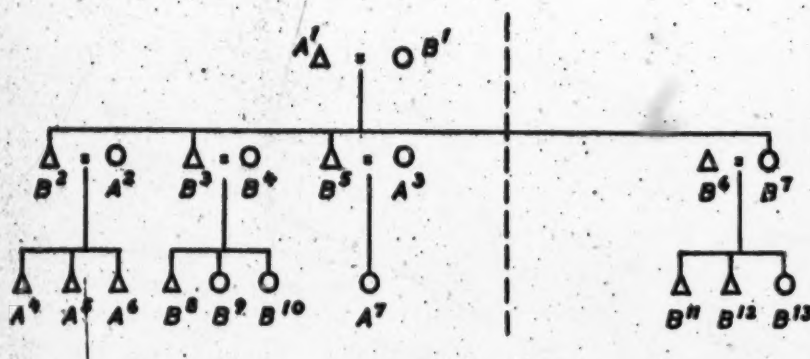


Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aguh-en-ichlé* tribe (A^1) and a woman of the *Dag Rali* tribe (B^1). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aguh-en-ichlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Aguh-en-ichlé* tribe.

At the death of A^1 of the *Aguh-en-ichlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of B^1 , and they will remain there also after the death of B^1 .

At the death of B^1 his wife A^2 and her children A^4 - A^6 will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aguh-en-ichlé* tribe as will be the case with A^3 and her child A^7 at the death of B^3 . At the death of B^4 his wife B^4 and children B^8 - B^{10} will remain with the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Dag Rali* tribe.

If B^1 dies while A^1 is still alive, B^7 and her children B^{11} - B^{13} will go back to the camp of A^1 in the *Aguh-en-ichlé* territory. After the death of A^1 they will return to the *Dag Rali* to join the camp of B^2 , B^3 , and B^4 .

If for instance B^3 kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lowayya*) the *Aguh-en-ichlé* and the *Dag Rali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as A^1 is alive and B^3 lives with the *Aguh-en-ichlé* tribe. If A^1 has died and B^3 consequently lives with the *Dag Rali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen.

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-ichlé*.

- 614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from
such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should
pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his
father's tribe should not contribute.
- 614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in
vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular
matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Rali* the
chief must be elected from the *Dag Rali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the
tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme
chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Targhanhawt*
sub-tribe.
- 614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Rali*", "*amaḍal n*
Aguh-en-tehlé", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Rali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe",
etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amemukul* of
Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively
for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories
of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amemukul* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279).
Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study
by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-
Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the
Imemukul (sing. *Amemukul*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as
the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.
- 614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names -
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
821 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag*
Rali tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4-6 generations, and
within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

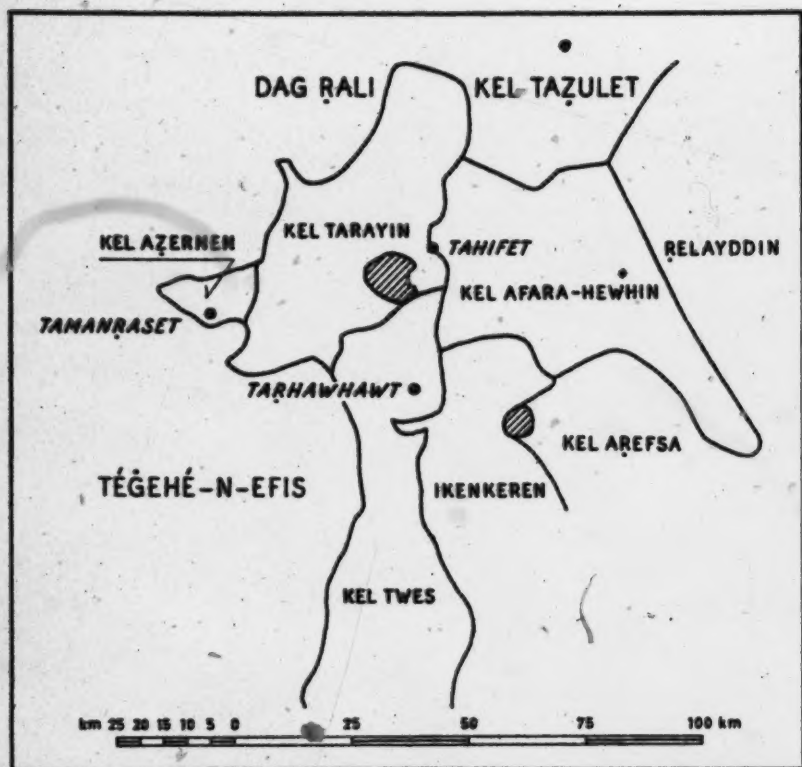


Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aguh-en-teshl* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aguh-en-teshl* territory is the territory of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Aguh-en-teshl* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Tazulet* tribes. The *Kel Azernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Rali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamanraaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Relayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aguh-en-teshl*. The *Aguh-en-teshl* territory chiefly belongs to the *Aboda* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Ataker*.

Tribal Sections in Ahaggar

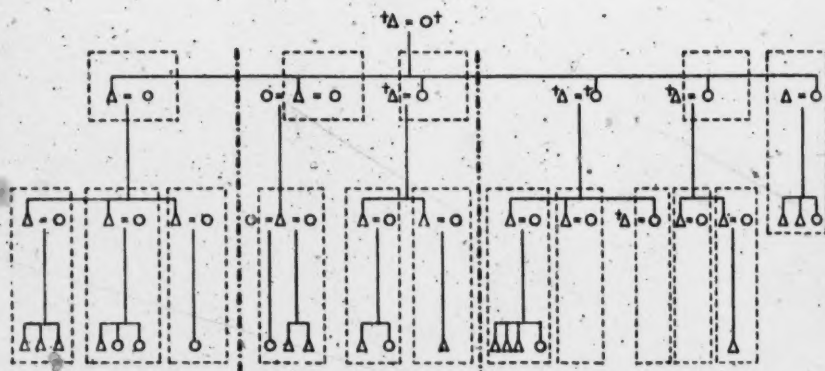


Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Agermen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Agh-en-ekhlé*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

- 614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[592] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10-20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2-7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting - "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or
four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the
section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50-100 metres
[592] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[592] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because
kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative
unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the
labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so
close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
341 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rall* tribe resident mainly in the
*233

Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Rali tribe

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613 (The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Rali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanqaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessillten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

623 551 224 643 651	Tenants	Name and value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the <i>Amemkal</i>
	DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the <i>Kel Tamanqaset</i> section	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant	2 goats
	YEKI of the <i>Kel Tamanqaset</i> section	TAGMART No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
	AMMA of the <i>Kel Terhenanet</i> section	ARECHCHUM No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
	KHABTÉ of the <i>Kel Tamanqaset</i> section & AKHASEN of the <i>Kel Terhenanet</i> section	I-N-DALAG Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
	AFAREK of the <i>Kel Hérhafek</i> section	AKAL-EREREN Hunting of barbary sheep	Unknown
	BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the <i>Kel Teñhart</i> section	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown)
[361]	DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections <i>Kel Tamanqaset</i> and <i>Kel Terhenanet</i>	ABALESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements	No land-rent as the <i>Amemkal</i> receives dues for every garden in this area
	DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of <i>Kel Tamanqaset</i> and <i>Kel Terhenanet</i> Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections	TEZZA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief)

Tribal Sections and Territories in Ahaggar

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Sub-areas of the territory of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe

(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named *Kel Tarhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Arefsa*)

Tenants	Value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the <i>Amemkal</i>	
SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the <i>Aguh-en-tehlé</i> , chief of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tarhawhawt</i> , leader of the section <i>Kel Twes</i>	Cultivation grounds at Tarhawhawt and I-n-dalag Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys for domestication	2 donkeys	614 613 423 551 311 224 643 651
OMANA, <i>khalifa</i> (leader) of the <i>Ikenkeren</i> section of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tarhawhawt</i>	Hunting of barbary sheep Collecting of wild seeds	3 goats	
ABERGALI, <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Kel Tarayin</i> section of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tarhawhawt</i>	Hunting of barbary sheep	2 goats	
KHOFA of the <i>Kel Tarayin</i> section. No position as leader	Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys	2 donkeys	
DEYNI, chief of the <i>Kel Arefsa</i> sub-tribe forming only one section	No particular value	No land-rent	
AKAWALI, chief of the <i>Isandan</i> sub-tribe and leader of the <i>Kel Afara-he hin</i> section	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey	
HANU, <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Kel Azernen</i> section of the <i>Isandan</i> sub-tribe	Cultivation grounds at Tamanaset In the past wild donkeys	1 donkey	
KHOSENI, <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Relayddin</i> now attached to the <i>Aguh-en-tehlé</i> tribe	<i>Khoseni</i> is in command of the <i>Relayddin</i> territory to which all members of the <i>Relayddin</i> have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the <i>Amemkal</i>		

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzar*, while a small camp is called *éwén* or *tamezzak*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100-200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzar n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.

[24] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Harraïn* (*Izeggarén*). Some goat-camps may move [423] their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date

[563] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikerchemađen*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibephin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting [245] these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are

* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Harraïn* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar - mainly in Tamesna - and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied

614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. 613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondence between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular 423 section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section

territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Rali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use

[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are

[434] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amemukul*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éheré-n-amaqul*) paid to the *Amemukul* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

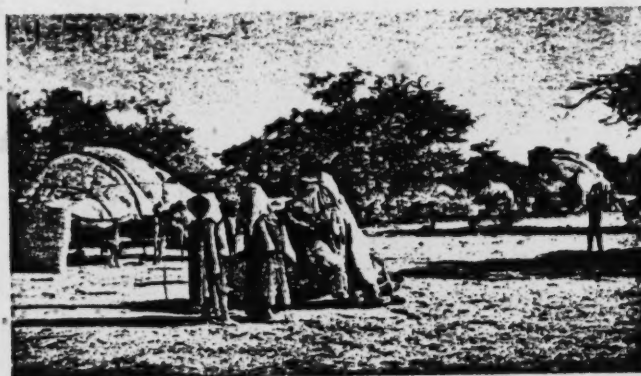


Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendiyen* tribe.

* 422
233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[545] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

[545] (2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawden* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[422] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them [272] by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

● 614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawwit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [597] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

Tribal Structure in Ayr

153

outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Inezzeureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Inezzeureg* tribe, while the father of the *Inezzeureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a; p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
 312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
 466 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
 476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked
 to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Targhawawt
 [675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts
 between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same
foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
 valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same *foggara* frequently belong to the same tribe
 or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to
 somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
 675 six months - the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
 423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:-
 241

- (1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.
- (2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.
- (3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *chéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15-25 kilos of cereals.

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Fig. 140. Millet (*dudk*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south - possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, AM Azzi Arabs.

Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 101 These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642 *Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwlemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwlemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tadmuket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwlemmeden Kel Adram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173 and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642 noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Gupet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614 but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565 Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifien* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassile-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date 669 lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Urazen*. A Tuareg of this 643 tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Urazen*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 75 by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64 1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Urazen*, they retained 43 their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their 649 women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukali*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1935, p. 189; Blanguernon 1933, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

- 643 *amenu* + (*akal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amemkal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *tyen dar-Menan* = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Frasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, [223] as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amemkal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amemkal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amemkal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the Kel Ajjer, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 173 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 631 *Imenan* and the *Ifoyas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past 614 that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he allotted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Urazen* tribe was given the valley of Ifarjaren, while the noble woman of the *Imayassaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the Kel Ajjer was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amemkal*, was the supreme ruler of the Kel Ajjer. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the Kel Ajjer seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Urazen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Ifarjaren, the *Imayassaten* east of the *Urazen*, and finally the *Ifoyas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Radames. The *Ifoyas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position [365] as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoyas* tribes had territorial rights around Radames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 399 ff.). The Kel Ajjer country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole Kel Ajjer group, the chief of the *Urazen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.
- 565 The noble Tuareg among the Kel Ajjer had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Urazen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imayassaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the Kel Ajjer, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imayassaten* were in opposition to the *Urazen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Urazen*, while the *Imenan*,

Political Systems . Kel Ajjer and Ahaggar

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imenayaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraren* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Rat; they held the titles of *Imenskalen*, and their chief was "the *Amenskul*" who still possessed the drum (*effebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraren* with the title of *Ampar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenskhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Ampar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenskhen* held the supreme political and judicial authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraren*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenskhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraren* tribe, and in difficult judicial problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraren* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraren*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenskul*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Rela*, *Taytoḥ*, and *Tégehé Mellei*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoḥ* and the *Kel Rela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *are-n-taḥatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Rela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḥ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellei*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs - perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
 515 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
 614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
 642 Inzer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekhemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were
 later placed under the *Kel Rela*, the *Taytoḥ*, and the *Téghé Mellet*. The *Isekhemaren*, as we shall
 see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern
 Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag*
Mokhammed al Khir between the three noble tribes of *Kel Rela*, *Taytoḥ*, and *Téghé Mellet* is most
 interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some
 of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Louayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Rela* and the *Téghé*
Mellet while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Rali* for the *Kel Rela*, and the
Kel Ahnet for the *Taytoḥ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes,
 but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups
 of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals
 took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Rela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted
 to the *Taytoḥ*, while the *Téghé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically
 important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Rela*, the *Taytoḥ*, and the *Téghé Mellet* these noble
 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téghé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
 634 so-called drum-groups or *esfebelen* (sing. *esfebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
 539 known as *esfebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch
 628 the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum
 must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the
 supreme political and judicial authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war
 upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
 631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
 634 that of the *Kel Rela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḥ*
 643 and the *Téghé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally
 used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Rela* drum-group had the title of
Amenukal as the chief of the whole *téghé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would
 ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḥ* and *Téghé Mellet*
 were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
 [565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekhemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
 was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekhemaren*
 class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day,
 was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a
 vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to
 install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal's* camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs,
 but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

	Noble tribes	Vassal tribes	Isekhemaren tribes
	<i>Kel Rela</i> 275	<i>Dag Rali</i> 386	<i>Iheyawen Hada</i> 253
	To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the <i>Ifozas</i> group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes.	<i>Ayt Lowayen</i> 400	<i>Kel Injer</i> 176
	But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The <i>Kel Rela</i> women, like noble women of the <i>Urayen</i> (Tasile-n-Ajjer) and <i>Kel Ferwan</i> (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.	<i>Aguk-en-sehli</i> 585	<i>Kel Tefedest</i> 61
		<i>Relayddin</i> 40	<i>Kel Immidir</i> 179
		<i>Ikkan-en-tawait</i> 500	<i>Kel Tazulet</i> 158
		<i>Ibettenaten</i> 129	
		<i>Iregenaten</i> 435	
The <i>Kel Rela</i> Drum-Group		These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The <i>Ibettenaten</i> is said formerly to have had noble status and the <i>Iregenaten</i> descend matrilineally from the <i>Ibettenaten</i> , patrilineally from Arabs.	The <i>Isekhemaren</i> tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble <i>Kel-ahem-mellen</i> tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the <i>Ulad Ba Hammu</i> , claims that they were originally their vassals.

territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḡ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḡ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḡ* group.

To-day the *Amemukul* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amemukul* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient to him. The *Amemukul* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amemukul* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amemukul* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amemukul* even to-day receives a land-rent (*ṭheré-n-amaghal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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	Noble tribes	Vassal tribes	<i>Isekhemaren</i> tribes
The <i>Taytoḥ</i> Drum-Group	<i>Taytoḥ</i> 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure <i>Taytoḥ</i> stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief <i>Mokhammed</i> ag <i>Mokhammed</i> who pos- sesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the <i>Taytoḥ</i> drum-group also now live in Tames- na. The <i>Taytoḥ</i> and their vassals frequently inter- marry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	<i>Kel Ahnet</i> 127 <i>Iwerweren</i> 47 <i>Téghé-n-Efis</i> 127 <i>Ikajjinen</i> 84 <i>Ikechhemajen</i> (now mixed with the <i>Dag Rali</i> tribe of the <i>Kel Rēla</i> drum-group). <i>Ikechhemun</i> A tribe patrilineally re- lated to the noble <i>Tay- toḥ</i> , matrilineally to the vassal tribe of <i>Kel Ahnet</i> . In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	<i>Kel I-n-tunin</i> (about 20 tents in 1938).
The <i>Téghé-Mellet</i> Drum-Group	<i>Téghé Mellet</i> 33	<i>Kel Turha</i> (part of the <i>Ayt Lowayen</i> tribe of the <i>Kel Rēla</i> drum-group).	<i>Kel Terwit</i> 62 <i>Kel Uhet</i> 70
Noble Tribes Without Vassals	<i>Kel-ahem-mellen</i> <i>Ikadeyen</i>	The <i>Isekhemaren</i> tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.	

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amemkal* by people of his drum-
group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwé* from all vassal tribes.
The size of such *tiwé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one
tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwé* payments made by the two most im-
portant vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Agah-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes
which make their *tiwé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tayhawawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs
of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment
to the *Amemkal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Iamam* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
 651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
 644 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwse* as follows:—
 613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
 565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself.
 In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. —
 All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this
 also applies to the *Isekhemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwse*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
 and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as
 639 drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to
 their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
 634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war-booty taken by his
 565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to
 their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel*
Rela drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
 644 kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in
 the tribe to which the deceased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138).
 As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
 within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief
 647 of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels
 on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*ekliyer*)
 634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
 681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
 649 he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches
 his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
 the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
 642 paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the
 614 murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had
 to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny
 his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid
 he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain
 man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
 643 For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
 178 such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
 178 by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he
 143 had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
 643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

Political Systems: Kel Ahaggar

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukul* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukul*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukul* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukul* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916-17, the drum-group of the *Kel Reta* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukul* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukul's* power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukul's* orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukul* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifas* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukul*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Reta* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Reta* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amfar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwé* to the *Amenukul*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoq*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukul* of the *Kel Reta* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoq*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Reta* and *Taytoq* tribes might also receive *tiwé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukul* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
 721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwse* to the *Amemkal* were raided
 643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amemkal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehei* which according
 to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made
 by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amemkal*'s drum-group
 should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided
 complained to the *Amemkal* to whom they paid *tiwse* for protection, he might return some of the
 animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*esjebe*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
 [83] federation (*téghet*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels
 might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
 565 (*tehandezzi*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Rela* drum-group there
 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
 571 true notably of the *Dag Rali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.

614 • People of the *Dag Rali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and
 [602] brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Rela* drum-group
 joke with the tribes of the *Isekemaren* class. The word "*Isekemaren*" means literally "people who
 lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is
 considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their
 drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg
 and true vassals, who say that the *Isekemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding
 expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals
 will joke with the *Isekemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the

[602] vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
 [43] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed
 between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-*
en-tehlé Tuareg come to the *Isekemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the
Isekemaren visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relation-
 ship to the noble *Kel Rela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Rela* engage in sham-
 fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between
 the *Kel Rela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-tehlé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that
 the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Rela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between
Isekemaren and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by
 their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen*
Hada, *Kel Tapulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Wedding feasts in these *Isekemaren* tribes are most
 popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekemaren* girls.
 Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages,
 if any, while this was not so in the *Taytoḥ* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amemkal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Rela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 802

The *Kel Rela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temazlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temazlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imqad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Rela* tribe who were leaders of *temazlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temazlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 178

There are certain traces of *temazlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwse* from a group of vassals to the *temazlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwse* payments to a noble *temazlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amemkal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwse* payment to *Marli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Rela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emerri*, but gives no *tiwse* to the *Amemkal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ehert-n-amagal*) is always paid to the *Amemkal*. I was also told by the *Kel Rela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwse* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aghub-en-sehli*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amemkal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imqad* class made *tiwse* payments both to their individual *temazlayt* masters and to the *Amemkal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temazlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temazlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Rela* group, to the *Amemkal*. The obligations of a noble *temazlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temazlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (abelling) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
 565 cauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
 [172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten*
 people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their
 supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found
 in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides,
 two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Emenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Rali*
 tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* claim that their tribe
 descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten*
 formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Rali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten*
 were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and intro-
 duced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient
Isebeten contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so
 as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect
 the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according
 to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no
 reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
 [55] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Rali*
 tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending
 from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had
 a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Rali*
 [174] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a,
 [428] p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said
 to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
 614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Rali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
 565 known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imrad* which perhaps also
 refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *ereyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas
 [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly
 [224] around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly
 important to the *Dag Rali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this
 ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Rela* and the *Taytok*, said to descend from
 565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in
 Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from
 Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim
 that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the
 large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyond doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible
 that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Islamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:—

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isbeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isbeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isbeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *lhaggaren*", or to be "*lhaggaren* but not true *lhaggaren*".

(2) The word *lhaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajer* (sing. *Amajer*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 665-674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aher* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457-462).

The word *lhaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *lhaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated

THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
 614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
 114 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480).
 My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my
 list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each
 with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past
 are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
 112 quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging
 from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
 634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
 648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French
 in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
 121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
 634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
 115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum-group
 a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who
 seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly
 correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
 614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
 634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel*
 married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition



Fig. 233. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

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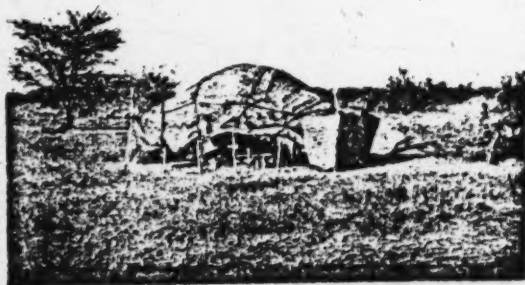
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according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:—

The three sisters left their original homeland of *Awjila* riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from *Iferwan* and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas*'s, and when the sisters arrived at *Iferwan* she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At *Iferwan* there was then a mighty chief named *Azezezzet*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tamegli* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azezezzet* was very eager to marry *Sabenas*, as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from *Iferwan* and her camel did not get tired until she was close to *Tagedufat* south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of *Tagedufat*, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from *Iferwan* in the north to the well of *Tagedufat* situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as *Tessawa*, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewat* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:—

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of *Aderbissinat* at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.



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<i>Kel Ewey</i>	50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton
<i>Kel Faday</i>	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
<i>Echchikhen</i>	two small drum-groups in Damerghu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters
<i>Kel Geres</i>	1 horse with a saddle
<i>Kel Dennek of the Twillemmeden</i>	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
<i>Kel Allekot</i>	150 kg of millet
<i>Damerghu & Katsena</i>	An amount of millet

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *arezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum".
This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amrar* or *aqolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

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Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group

1. The Irawatten Group

Tribes	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)		Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
<i>Irawatten</i>	350	58	There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the <i>Kel Geres</i> . The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the <i>Irawatten</i> group and the drum-chief of the whole <i>Kel Ferwan</i> group.	Télewa (western part)
<i>Kel Tédalé</i> (3 tribes)	1300		They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the <i>Irawatten</i> , but are nevertheless very independent politically.	Talak Uraren Zurika
<i>Kel Akerra</i>	164	39	Of noble descent with the <i>Ibararajiten</i> as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the <i>Imezzureg</i> and with the <i>Kel Tédalé</i> .	Ti-n-Teburak
<i>Imezzureg</i>	106	20	Of noble descent and related to the <i>Kel Akerra</i> and the <i>Isakaranan</i> with whom they intermarry.	Terezzet
<i>Isakaranan</i>	653	107	Of noble descent and related to the <i>Kel Akerra</i> and the <i>Imezzureg</i> .	Ti-n-Tebezzin
<i>Igendyenen</i> A section of former slaves known as <i>Tindeku</i> is grouped together with this tribe.	247	55	Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command.	Burhal
<i>Iberdyanen</i> (2 tribes)	621	97	Living close to the noble <i>Irawatten</i> as their servants.	Gufat Éknawen Téwendegit
<i>Ikkoberen</i>			Living close to the noble <i>Irawatten</i> as their servants.	
<i>Ayt Uren</i>	160			Maramaru
<i>Idaltyen</i>	218	67		Telhecham

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Ifadeyen
(2 tribes)

*Elharaten**Ihararejiten**Iragan**Ifawelen*

Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe.

Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Faday* group there is a tribe of *Iragan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwlemmeden*.

Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command.

Kurubobo
Imechamelawen
Turuf
Beynabu
Ti-n-Duwin
Anyalen
Abalemma
Ekwel

Anwacher

Emdegra

Eteleg

Tombalaga
Akadaney
Meygawey

2. The Kel Azel Group

Tribes	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
<i>Kel Azel</i>	180 47	Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin.	Anoyaran Tifezzrin Tafadek Gufat
<i>Imezzenen</i>	162 31		Tifezzrin

Political Systems. The Kel Ferwan

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<i>Kel Tésemt</i>	237		Related to the <i>Imezzilalen</i> and the <i>Ikojje-jiten</i> together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe.	Assa and eastern part of Têléwa
<i>Imezzilalen</i>	27		Related to the <i>Kel Tésemt</i> .	Assa and eastern part of Têléwa
<i>Ikojje-jiten</i>			A section of the <i>Imezzilalen</i> .	Afarak
<i>Ifokkar</i>	42	12	Related to the <i>Kel Tésemt</i> , the <i>Imezzilalen</i> , and the <i>Ikojje-jiten</i> .	Eastern part of Têléwa
<i>Ikankun</i>	150		Said to have been the particular servants of the noble <i>Kel Azel</i> .	
<i>Ijakarkuren</i>	203	41	Said to be related to the <i>Igend'ynen</i> .	Tafadek
<i>Iforas</i> (2 tribes)	396	95	They came to Ayr from Adraf of the <i>Iforas</i> about one hundred years ago.	Tédeyin
<i>Ipaucien</i>			A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the <i>Kel Azel</i> . They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the <i>Kel Azel</i> mentioned above.	

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
 582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
 634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the
 drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be
 institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous
 classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for
 relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
 578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
 614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
 565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups.
 The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain
 number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
 [661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that
 the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
 [701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group
 because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped
 around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said
 to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararajiten* tribe.
 In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel*
Akerra, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief
 three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were
 severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim
 it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the
 tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give
 their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that
 they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most
 tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
 634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
 614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain
 his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information
 confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246),
 though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar.
 But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
 565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
 614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475).
 Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland
 of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihadanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg. 565 614

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— 565 233 [172]
 "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd, however, also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Ik Koberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*. 174 565 634

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes of this kind has ceased to exist — probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but 642 565

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565 there are no true vassals or *Imjad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

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[144] The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

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583 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeren* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they constitute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Arolla* (pl. *Iyollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amjar* (pl. *Imjaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Irawlen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Ieffnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

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585 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iyollan* tribes, there is among the *Kel Geres* a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Enaymani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikh* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Kadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Kadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Kadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Enaymani* tribe. But the *sadakar* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the *Al-Kadi*.

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *etibel* is reserved to those
 565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-akal*,
 651 have the right to an annual tribute known as *fluse* (*chiwse*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaka* or *tamessadek* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Kadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. - These are the main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579-586 & 1950a, p. 188-193, 201-209).

THE IWILLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
 565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
 1147 *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Impad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dafa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
 567 Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwse* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
 612 tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
 646 by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
 643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). - To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
 642 Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak
 565 tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry
 614 a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Maageot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwse* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Maageot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdet* of the noble *Kel Tahabani* informed that the *tiwse* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllenmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *séghé*, in the *Iwllenmeden* groups as *ségezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temazlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no

Slavery

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be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to inherit (*sekachir*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock will be given her under the designation of *elhak*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals. 567 608

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery. 567

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *imneharen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Imneharen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *imneharen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master. 567 614

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other. 571

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not 567 64